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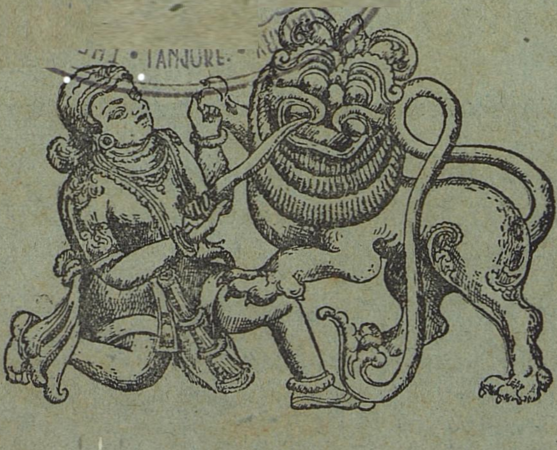

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SOME SOUTHERN DYNASTIES IN MADHYA PRADESH AND ORISSA

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

THE CHINDAKA-NĀGAS

INSCRIPTIONS of a line of kings claiming to belong to the Chindaka family of the Nāga race have been discovered in different parts of the old Bastar State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. They had probably their capital at Bārasūru, modern Barsur, fifty-five miles from Jagdalpur, the chief city of Bastar. These Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar, the old name of which was Cakrakōṭa, Cakrakoṭṭa, Cakrakūṭa, etc., claimed to be of the *Kās'yapa gōtra* and had the tiger with a cub for their crest. They are stated to have enjoyed the snake-banner and the title "lord of Bhōgā(ga)vatī the best of cities." According to Brahmanical mythology, Bhōgavatī was the capital of the Nāga kings in *rasātala*, one of the seven divisions of pātāla or the subterranean region. These details show beyond doubt that the Chindakas of Bastar belonged to the same stock as the Sindas of Bagalkot and Yelburga in the Bijapur region and of Hallavūr and Beḷagutti in the Mysore area.[1] The Sindavāḍi country, embracing parts of northern Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and

1. *Bom. Gaz.* I, ii, Pp. 572; Sewell, *H.I.S.I.* Pp. 392-93; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, Pp. 230 ff.

Bijapur, is mentioned in an inscription of 750 A.D. Inspite of the fact that the Sindas of the Kannaḍa country explain their family name by connecting it with the name of the river Sindhu (Indus), there is no doubt that the name *Chindaka* preferred by the Nāgas of Bastar is just another form of the same name. The mythical genealogy claimed by the Sindas sometimes tells us that the eponymous founder of the family was a certain "long-armed" Sinda who was the human son of the serpent-king, Dharaṇēndra, born at Ahicchatra near the Sindhu and who was reared by a tiger. Sometimes, however, the same mythical personage was described as born from the union of the god S'iva with the river Sindhu and brought up by the king of serpents by tiger's milk. Although no such explanation of the family name is found in the records of the Chindakas, it cannot be ignored that, like them, the Sindas also claimed to belong to the Nāgavaṁs'a, to carry the *nāga-dhvaja* or *phaṇi-patākā* (sometimes explained as the banner bearing representations of the Nāga chiefs Ananta, Vāsuki and Takṣaka), to use the *vyāghra-lāñchana* (tiger crest) and to enjoy the hereditary title "lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns." It seems, however, that the Chindakas were separated from their kinsmen of the Kannaḍa country before the formation of the mythology explaining the family name as derived from Sindhu sometime after the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

According to Hiralal's analysis of the inscriptions found in Bastar, the earliest Nāgavaṁs'ī record in this area is a fragmentary epigraph from Errakot about ten miles from Jagdalpur.[2] It is said that the record refers to a Nāgavaṁs'ī king, part of whose name is lost although it may have been Nṛpatibhūṣaṇa (or Kṣitibhūshaṇa ?) and bears a date in S'aka 945 corresponding to 1023 A.D. If the reading of the date of this record is true, it may be suggested that the Chindaka-Nāgas entered Bastar in the train of Rājēndra Cōḷa's army that is known to have set out on an expedition against the eastern countries sometime before 1023 A.D. But such names in the family as Dhārāvarṣa and Kanhara appear to

2. Hiralal. *Ins. C. P. B.* 2nd Ed. P. 166 (No. 285). Most of the inscriptions of the Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar have of late been transcribed in *S. I. I.* Vol. X. Nos. 643-50 ; but the transcripts are unsatisfactory.

suggest that it had at one time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors of the Deccan, while the popularity of the name Sōmēs'vara in this family as well as amongst the Telugu-Côḍa feudatories of the Chindaka-Nāgas possibly shows that both the houses owed allegiance to the later Cāḷukya emperor Sōmēs'vara I, Āhavamalla (1042-63 A.D.). If the Nāgavaṁs'īs were really settled in Bastar at the time of the Cōḷa invasion of that area, they had to transfer their allegiance to the Cāḷukyas probably as a result of the eastern expedition of Vikramāditya VI undertaken sometime before the death of his father Sōmēs'vara I.

The Barsur inscription [3] of 1060 A. D. refers to the reign of the Chindaka-Nāga *Mahārājas* Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa *alias* Dhārāvarṣa and records that his Telugu-Cōḍa feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Candrāditya-mahārāja, lord of Ammagāma, built a S'iva temple on the bank of a tank excavated by himself at the capital city of Bārasūru (modern Barsur). For the maintenance of the temple, Candrāditya granted a village which had been purchased by him from his overlord. The transaction was effected in the presence of king Dhārāvarṣa Jagadēkabhūṣana. This seems to suggest that Candrāditya had his capital at Ammagāma and that his Chindaka-Nāga overlord ruled from the city of Bārasūru where he excavated a tank and constructed a temple. There is another inscription of Candrāditya, having similar contents and bearing the same date, that was originally found at Potinar near Bhairamgarh, about seventy miles west of Jagdalpur. According to it, Candrāditya granted the village of Maṭṭināṇḍu (probably the same as Potinar, which is the findspot of the record) to cover the expenses of a garden which he erected in the vicinity of the S'iva temple built by himself at Bārasūru.

The Chindaka-Nāga king Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa died within a few years after 1060 A. D. and the throne was usurped by another member of the same family named Madhurāntaka who was soon overthrown by Sōmēs'vara I, son of Dhārāvarṣa. It is difficult to determine whether the Dantewara inscription [4] of

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3. Hirlal. *Op. Cit.*, Pp.158-59.

4. *Ibid.* P. 165 (No. 283).

1061 A.D. belongs to Madhurāntaka or Dhārāvarṣa. The names of the two rivals for the Chindaka-Nāga throne of Bārasūru, *viz.* Madhurāntaka and Sōmēs'vara, may suggest that while Madhurāntaka was a protegè of the Cōḷas, Sōmēs'vara received help from the Later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. There is evidence to show that the Cōḷas were also trying to extend their influence over the Bastar area about the middle of the eleventh century. An inscription [5] of 1074 A. D. speaks of certain earlier triumphs of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I in Vayirāgaram and S'akkarakoṭṭam (Cakrakoṭṭa).

The Rājapurā plates [6] of Madhurāntaka bear a date in 1065 A. D. It records the grant of the village of Rājapura (about twenty-two miles north-west of Jagdalpur) situated in the Bhramarakoṭya *maṇḍala* probably as a compensation for supplying victims for human sacrifices. Bhramarakoṭya or Bhramarakoṭṭa was either the same as or more probably a district of Cakrakoṭṭa.

The next Nāgavaṁs'ī ruler of Bastar, as indicated above, was Sōmēs'vara I, son of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa. This king is known from several inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in 1069 A. D. and the latest in 1097 A.D. One of the two Kuruspal (twenty-two miles from Jagdalpur) inscriptions[7] of Dhāraṇamahādēvī, who was the second queen of the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmēs'vara I and granted some land in favour of the local god Kāmēs'vara (S'iva), bears a date in the cyclic year *khara* which fell in S'aka 991 corresponding to 1069 A. D. Two other inscriptions [8] from Kuruspal and Gadia (twenty miles from Jagdalpur) belong to the reign of the same king, one recording a grant of eleven *gadyāṇakas* for a lamp to be burnt before the god Lōkēs'vara and the other speaking of a grant for the maintenance of dancing girls in a temple, are dated in S'aka 1019, *i.e.* 1097 A.D.

The most important of the records of the reign of Sōmēs'vara I is another mutilated inscription from Kuruspal.[9] It mentions

5. Sewell, *H. I. S. I.* P. 85.
6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. Pp. 174 ff.
7. *Ibid.* Vol. X. Pp. 31 ff.; Vol. IX. P. 163.
8. *Ibid.* Vol. X. Pp. 37-38; Hiralal. *Op. Cit.* P. 163.
9. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. Pp. 25 ff.

the king's father Dhārāvarṣa and son Kanhara and states that the king acquired the sovereignty of Cakrakūṭa (Cakrakoṭṭa) through the favour of the goddess Vindhyavāsinī. The record further says that Sōmēs'vara I killed the powerful king Madhurāntaka who is known from his own Rājpura plates to have been a Chindaka-Nāga king of Cakrakūṭa of which Sōmēs'vara claimed to have been the hereditary ruler. Sōmēs'vara is also credited in the present record with the burning of Vēṅgī, the subjugation of Bhadrapattana and Vajra and the annexation of six lakhs and ninety-six' villages of the Kōsala country. Veṅgī was the kingdom of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, forming a part of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya empire under Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I who ruled in 1063-70 A.D. as the Cāḷukya king of Vēṅgī and in 1070-1118 A.D. as the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya emperor when Vēṅgī was under his son and viceroy Vīracōḍa (1078-84 A.D. and 1088-92 A.D.), also mentioned in Sōmēs'vara's record. We have already seen how Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I claimed successes in Vayirāgaram and S'akkarakoṭṭam (Cakrakoṭṭa) sometime before 1074 A.D. Vayirāgaram is the Vajra of Sōmēs'vara's record and has been indentified with Wairagarh in the' Chanda district. Bhadrapattana has been identified with modern Bhandak in the same district. The number of villages captured by the Chindaka-Nāga king in the Kōsala country is conventional or exaggerated as in numerous other cases of this type.[10] It is interesting in this connection to note that Yas'ōrāja I, father of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa's Telugu-Cōḍa feudatory Candrāditya, is also known to have carved out a kingdom in Kōsala. Whether the Telugu-Cōḍa Yasō'rāja entered Kōsala as a lieutenant of Chindaka-Nāga Sōmēs'vara cannot be determined, although it appears quite likely. But whether the success of the Chindaka-Nāgas and their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories in Kōsala was at the expense of the Kalacuris or the Sōmavaṁs'īs cannot be ascertained. We know, however, that the Telugu-Cōḍas established themselves in the former Sōmavaṁ'sī dominions about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. and that the king of

10. *Bom. Gaz.* I. i. P. 298, note. According to a tradition recorded in the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Kumārikā-khaṇḍa*. Ch. 39) there were ten lakhs of *grāmas* in Kōsala.

Ratnapura (capital of the Kalacuris of South Kōsala) finds mention among Sōmēs'vara's antagonists. Thus the Chindaka-Nāgas may have fought both with the Kalacuris and the Sōmēvaṁs'īs. Some scholars identify a king named Sōmēs'vara whom the Kalacuri king Jājalla I seized in battle after having slaughtered a large army according to an inscription[11] of 1114 A.D. with the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmēs'vara I; but we prefer his identification with the Sōmavaṁs'ī *Kumāra* bearing the same name. It is, however, possible to suggest that Sōmavaṁs'ī Sōmēs'vara or his predecessor was for some time a feudatory of his Chindaka-Nāga name-sake.

Besides the antagonists of the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmēs'vara I mentioned above, the Kuruspal inscription also speaks of his rivalry with the kings of Uḍra (Orissa), Lāñjī (in the Balaghat district) and Lemnā (Lavaṇa in the Balaghat district). The king of Orissa may have been the Sōmavaṁs'ī ruler Uddyōtakēsarin.

The Narayanpal (twenty-three miles north-west of Jagdalpur) inscription, [12] dated 1111 A.D. speaks of Guṇḍamahādēvī, who was the queen of king Dhārāvarṣa, mother of Sōmēs'vara and grand-mother of Kanhara (who was then ruling on his father's death), as granting some land in favour of the gods Nārāyaṇa and Lōkēs'vara. This record proves that Sōmēs'vara I was dead and his son Kanhara ascended the Chindaka-Nāga throne sometime before its date falling in 1111 A.D.

The Barsur inscription [13] of S'aka 1130 (1208 A.D.) mentions Gaṅgamahādēvī as the queen of a Chindaka-Nāga king named Sōmēs'vara. This Sōmēs'vara may be a later member of the family and is probably identical with Rājabhūṣaṇa-mahārāja mentioned in an inscription from Gadia.[14] Māsakadēvī, younger sister of this Rājabhuṣaṇa-mahārāja of Cakragoṭṭa is mentioned in a Dantewara inscription.[15] Hiralal, however, suggests that the date of the Barsur inscription is a mistake for S'aka 1030 (1108

11. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. P. 38.
12. *Ibid.* Vol. IX. Pp. 311 ff. and 161-62.
13. *Ibid.* Vol. IX. P. 162.
14. Hiralal, *Op. Cit.* P. 170 (No. 293).
15. *Ibid.* P. 166 (No. 284).

A.D.) and that the king mentioned in it is no other than Sōmēs'vara, son of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadēkabhūṣana. A Barsur inscription[16] seems similarly to mention a second king named Kannara (Kanhara).

The continuation of Nāgavaṁs'ī rule in Bastar in the thirteenth century is indicated by the Jatanpal inscription of 1218 A.D. and the Dantewara inscription of 1224 A.D. both referring to the reign of a Chindaka-Nāga *Mahārāja* named Jagadēkabhūṣana-Narasiṁha.[17] *Mahārāja* Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa mentioned as the worshipper of the feet of Māṇikyadēvī (the goddess Dantēs'varī at Dantewara) in the Bhairamgarh inscription [18] may be identical with Narasiṁha. The undated Sunarpal inscription again speaks of another king of the same family, whose name was Jayasiṁha. The relationship that might have existed between Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha cannot be determined.

King Haris'candra of Cakrakōṭa, mentioned in the Temara inscription [19] of 1324 A. D. may have also been a later member of the Chindaka-Ñāga family of Bastar.

THE CŌLAS (TELUGU-CŌḌAS)

A king named Sōmēs'vara II issued the Kumarisimha plates[20] in his eleventh regnal year and the Patna Museum plates [21] in the seventeenth year of his reign. He claims to have belonged to the *kās'yapa gōtra* and the Cōḷa or Cōḍa family otherwise called the race of the sun, while another significant title of the ruler is *kāvērī-nātha*, "lord of the river Kāvērī," referring to his descent from the Cōḷas of Karikāla's house. He enjoyed the feudatory titles *Rāṇaka*, *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* and *Mahāvyūhapati*, inspite of his claim to have been "the lord of the entire Kōsala (South Kosala)." Another interesting title of the king was *Ayyana-gandha-vāraṇa*

16. Hiralal, *Op. Cit.* P. 169 (No. 292)
17. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. P. 40.
18. Hiralal, *Op. Cit.* P. 169 (No. 290).
19. *Ibid.* P. 165 (No. 252).
20. *J. Kalinga H. R. S.* Vol. I, Pp. 229 ff.
21. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, Pp. 97 ff.

which, together with *Jātana-gandha-vāraṇa*, is known to have been assumed by the generals and subordinates of the Cāḷukya emperors of Kalyāṇa. He was a worshipper of both Mahēs'vara (S'iva) and Viṣṇu and was especially devoted to the god Vaidyanātha, whose temple lies on the river Tel about twelve miles from Sonepur. He had the *rakta dhvaja* (blood-red banner) and the *siṁha-lāñcchana* (lion crest). Both the charters of king Sōmēs'vara II of the Cōḷa or Cōḍa family were issued when he was stationed at Suvarṇapura which had been previously one of the capitals of the Sōmavaṁs'īs of Kōsala. The records may be palæographically assigned to the twelfth century A.D. This Cōḷa Sōmēs'vara probably flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century and was responsible for the final overthrow of the Sōmavaṁs'ī *Kumāra* Sōmēs'vara who had been ruling over the district of Pas'cima-Laṅkā from his head quarters at Suvarṇapura.

The Kumarisimha plates describe king Sōmēs'vara II as the son of Yas'ōrāja II and the grandson of Candrāditya. The Patna Museum plates not only describe him as the *pādānudhāta* of *Paramamāhes'vara* Yas'ōrāja II who was himself *pādānudhyāta* of *Paramamāhēs'vara* Candrāditya, but also mentions his grandfather's elder brother Sōmēs'vara I as well as the latter's father Yas'ōrāja I and grandfather Callama who is stated to have belonged to the Cōḷa family sprung from the sun. The inscription also describes Yas'ōrāja I as having carved out a kingdom in Kōsala (South Kōsala).

As Sōmēs'vara II appears to have ruled in the first quarter of the twelfth century, his grandfather Candrāditya and the latter's elder brother Sōmēs'vara may be roughly assigned to *Circa* 1050-75 A.D. while his great-grandfather Yas'ōrāja I, who first carved out a kingdom in Kōsala, may have flourished in *Circa* 1025-50 A.D. This chronology seems to be supported by the evidence of the Barsur and Potinar inscriptions [22] of 1060 A.D. both belonging to the reign of Candrāditya. But it is not impossible that Yas'ōrāja I served as a general of the Chindakas even when his grandson Candraditya was ruling at Ammagāma in Bastar.

22. Hiralal, *Op. Cit.* Pp. 158-59.

According to the Barsur and Potinar inscriptions found in the old Bastar State, *Mahārāja Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Candrāditya was the ruler of Ammagāma and acknowledged the supremacy of *Mahārāja* Dhārāvarṣa Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa of the Chindaka dynasty of the Nāga race ruling at Bārasūru (Barsur, fifty-five miles west of Jagdalpur, chief city of Bastar). The inscriptions record the excavation at Bārasūru of a tank called *Candrādityasamudra*, the construction of a temple of the god S'iva called *Candrādityēs'vara* on its bank and the erection of a garden called *Candrāditya-nandana-vana* in its vicinity as well as the grant of two villages to cover the expenses of the above.

Like his descendant Sōmēs'vara II of the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates, Candrāditya claims descent from the Cōḷas of the Tanjore-Trichinopoly region. It is stated that he was the scion of the Karikāla family holding sway over the Kāvērī and having the capital at Orayuru (Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly). He also claimed the *Kās'yapa gōtra* and the lion crest.

It appears that, like Candrāditya, the other members of the Cōḷa family were also feudatories of the Chindaka-Nāgas of the Bastar region. We have seen that Candrāditya's father Yas'ōrāja I is credited with carving out a kingdom in Kōsala. The Chindaka-Nāga king, Sōmēs'vara I, son and successor of Candrāditya's overlord Dhārāvarṣa, likewise claims to have conquered Kōsala.[23] Whether the successes of Cōḷa Yas'ōrāja I and Chindaka-Nāga Sōmēs'vara I refer to a single expedition against the Kōsala (South Kōsala) country cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming. But it is not impossible that a Cōḷa feudatory was placed in the rulership of parts of Kōsala after the Chindaka-Nāga conquest of that area as a reward for the help rendered by the former. It is also difficult to determine whether Candrāditya of Ammagāma in Bastar succeeded his father or elder brother in Kōsala.

These Cōḷas must have migrated from the Telugu country where a number of Telugu-Cōḍa chiefs, distinguished by the same *birudas* as the Cōḷas known from the Barsur, Potinar, Kumarisimha

23. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. Pp. 26-27.

and Patna Museum inscriptions enjoyed, are known to have flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur districts.[24] Many of these chiefs were subordinate to the Western Cāḷukya emperors. It is, therefore, not impossible to think that the Telugu-Cōḍas of the house of Callama entered the Cakrakōṭa (Bastar) Kōsala area in the train of Vikramāditya VI when he led an expedition against the eastern countries sometime before the death of his father Sōmēs'vara I Āhavammalla in 1063 A. D. The name Sōmēs'vara, popular with both the Chindaka-Nāgas and their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories, may also point to the fact that they, for sometime at least, acknowledged the supremacy of Cāḷukya Sōmēs'vara I. The title *Ayyana-gandha-vāraṇa* assumed by these Telugu Cōḍas as well as the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vāgharakoṭṭa, discussed separately, points clearly to the same direction.

The Mahada plates were published long ago by the late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar who believed that the charter was issued by a ruler named Yōgēs'varadēvavarman sometime in the sixteenth century.[25] We had recently had occasion to examine the original record and found that Mazumdar's transcript of the inscription was full of errors.[26] This charter was issued by a king named Sōmēs'varadēvavarman in the twenty-third year of his reign when he was standing before Laṅkavartaka (probably a deity worshipped on the Laṅkēs'varī hillock in the bed of the Mahānadī at Sonepur) on the bank of the river Citrōtpalā (*i.e.* the Mahānadī). The epithets applied to the donor of the charter are strikingly similar to those of Sōmēs'vara II of the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates, already discussed above. But the donor of the Mahada charter is described as the son of Dhāralladēvavarman and the grandson of another Sōmēs'varadēvavarman. There is little doubt that the Mahada grant was issued sometime later than the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum charters. This is suggested by the fact that the donor of the former has been called *Pañca-mahās'abda-samanvita*, *Mahāmahīmaṇḍalēs'vara*, *Mahābhūpati*

24. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. Pp. 343-44.
25. *Ibid.* Vol. XII. Pp. 218 ff.
26. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII. Pp. 283 ff.

and *Cakravartin.* Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the donor of the Mahada grant owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors. The same conclusion is also suggested by the titles *Mahāmahīmaṇḍalēs'vara* and *Mahābhūpati* which are no doubt deliberate modifications of the feudatory titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* and *Mahāvyūhapati* enjoyed by the donor of the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates. Thus Sōmēs'varadēvavarman who issued the Mahada plates from a place in the suburbs of Sonepur (Suvarṇapura) appears to have been a descendant of Sōmēs'vara II who ruled over the same region. It is possible to think that the former was a grandson of the latter. In that case the donor of the Mahada plates may be regarded as Sōmēs'vara III of the Telugu-Cōḍa family of Kōsala. As Sōmēs'vara II flourished about the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Dhāralladēvavarman, probably his son, may be assigned roughly to the second quarter of the same century. Sōmēs'varadēvavarman or Sōmēs'vara III, who issued the Mahada plates and was the son Dhāralla, may then have ruled about the third quarter of the twelfth century.

THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

Besides the imperial family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed in the Deccan, various other Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruling families, later called Rāṭhoḍ (through Prākṛit *Raṭṭhaūḍha*), are known to have flourished in several parts of India in different periods of its history. So long, however, there was no information regarding the rule of any Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal family in Orissa. The Bargarh copper-plate inscription of Paracakras'alya has recently supplied us with evidence relating to the existence of a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers in the Sambalpur area of Orissa about the twelfth century A.D.

The charter, which may be assigned on palæographical grounds to a date about the twelfth century, is dated in Saṁvat 56, probably to be referred to the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era of 1076 A.D. The date of the record thus seems to be 1131 A.D. It was issued by *Rāṇaka* Paracakras'alya who was the son of

Dhaṁsaka (Dhvaṁsaka ?) and grandson of *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara Mahāmaṇḍalika Rāṇaka* Camaravigraha. It is possible to suggest that Dhaṁsaka, who is mentioned without any epithet, predeceased his father and that Camaravigraha was succeeded by his grandson Paracakras'alya.

No overlord of these rulers has been mentioned in the inscription. But their titles quoted above, together with the epithet *samadhigat-ās'ēṣa-mahās'abd-āvalī-vandita* attributed to Camaravigraha in the record, point undoubtedly to their subordinate position. Camaravigraha is further described as a devotee of the god Mahēs'vara (S'iva) and as " an ornament of the pure family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas." The seal of the charter bears the figure of Garuḍa (Viṣṇu's *vāhana*) inspite of the S'aiva faith followed by the family. Another interesting epithet of the same ruler is *Llātalōra-vinirgata* showing that the family claimed to have hailed from a locality called Llātalōra. There is no doubt that this epithet refers to the city of Lattalūra, otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latalaura, etc. which was the traditional home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Southern India. We know that the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed often called themselves *Lattalūrapura-Paramēs'vara*,[27] while the Raṭṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) chieftains of Saudatti usually described themselves as *Lattalūrpura-varēsvara* or *Lattanūrpuravarēs'vara*.[28] *Mahāsāmanta* Dhāḍibhaṇḍaka of the Mahā-Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who was a feudatory of the Western Cālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) of Kalyaṇa is described as " emigrated from Latalaura" [29] exactly as *Rāṇaka* Camaravigraha in the Bargarh inscription.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan had the *Pāli-dhvaja*, *Oka-kētu* and *Garuḍa-lāñcchana*,[30] while Rāṣṭrakūṭa Camaravigraha of Orissa is called *Garuḍa-Darpaṇa-dhvaja*. The fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan were heralded in public by the musical instrument called *tivili* (called *trivaḷe*, *trivaḷi* or *trivali* in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti) explains Camaravigraha's

27. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. Pp. 113, 220.
28. *Ibid.* XIX. Pp. 164-5, 247-8.
29. *Bom. Gaz.* I. ii, P. 384, note 4.
30. *Ibid.* P. 387.

epithet *trivali-tūrya-rava-trāsit-ārāti-cakra.* Camaravigraha is further called *S'vētacchatra* and *Pīta-cāmara* referring to his white umbrella and yellow chowrie.

From what has been said above about the description of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Camaravigraha of the Bargarh inscription, it may be suspected whether he had anything really to do with Orissa. Such a doubt is, however, completely set at rest by his typical epithet *aṣṭādasa-ghaṭṭa-Gondram-ādhipati.* We know that the title "lord of all the Gondramas" or "lord of the eighteen Gondramas" was claimed by many early rulers of the Orissan region. The "eighteen Gondramas" are believed to be the same as Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍajāta* vaguely referring to the native states recently merged in the Orissa State. The earliest reference to these "eighteen" states seems to be found in the Kanas plate of Lōkavigraha, dated in the Gupta year 280 (599-600 A. D.), which speaks of the Tōsalī kingdom (Orissa) as consisting of "eighteen forest states."[31]

The charter of Paracakras'alya was issued from Vāgharakoṭṭa which was apparently the name of a fort. This fort, which was the headquarters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Orissa, was probably situated in the Sambalpur area: but whether it is to be located at Bargarh is difficult to determine. The gift village is called Salēḍagrāma without mentioning the district in which it was situated. This is possibly because the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vāgharakoṭṭa comprised only a small area. The location of Salēḍagrāma is uncertain.

The relations of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas with their neighbours are unknown. But the advent of this ruling family of Kannada origin in Orissa, like the Kanarese Sēnas in Bengal and of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty in Mithilā as well as the Telugu-Cōḍas in the Sonepur region, seems to have been connected with the eastern expedition led by Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI sometime before 1063 A. D.[32] This is also suggested by the history of the Telugu-Cōḍas of Cakrakoṭṭa and Kōsala and the Chindaka-Nāgas of Madhya Pradesh, discussed separately.

31. See my article on the Kanas plates in *Ep. Ind.* XXVIII. Pp. 328 ff.
32. *Bom. Gaz. Op. Cit.* P. 442.

THE TAILAPA VAṀS'ĪS

Of the ruling families of Kannaḍa origin that flourished in Orissa, the Eastern Gaṅgas and their feudatories, the Eastern Kadambas, are well-known to students of history. But they migrated to the east long before the rise of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who migrated to Orissa during the Cāḷukya age has been discussed above. Another family of Kannaḍa origin belonging to this epoch is known from a copper-plate inscription,[33] discovered by a cultivator while digging a field in the village of Upalada in the partly Oriya-speaking Parlakimedi taluk formerly attached to the Ganjam but now to the S'rīkākulam district. The characters of the record suggest a date in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The inscription records the grant of the village of Upalavaḍā (modern Upalada the find-spot of the epigraph) by a *Rāṇaka* named Rāmadēva.

That Rāmadēva was a feudatory ruler is indicated by his title *Rāṇaka* as well as his epithet *samadhigata-pañca-mahās'abda*. Another interesting epithet of Rāmadēva, who was a devotee of S'iva, says that he enjoyed the favour of the goddess Agidēvī.

The most important information supplied by the inscription in regard to the dynasty to which *Rāṇaka* Rāmadēva belonged is that he is stated to have been sprung from the Tailapa-vaṁs'a. This Tailapa, from whom Rāmadēva claimed descent, appears to be no other than the Western Cāḷukya monarch Tailapa II (972-97 A.D.) who re-established Cāḷukya sovereignty in the Deccan after having overthrown the imperial house of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He was the great-great-grandfather of Vikramāditya VI. The existence of Rāmadēva in the east coast country may be explained by suggesting that he or one of his predecessors followed Vikramāditya VI in his eastern expedition. But whether he was a Cāḷukya himself or was merely the son or descendant of a Cāḷukya princess can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The peculiarity of the claim may, however, go in favour of the second alternative.

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33. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, Pp. 141 ff.

SRIVILLIPUTTUR: HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY *

By V. Srinivasan

Period of Nāyaka Domination—*Villiputtūrār Bhāratam*

The tangled political history of the Pāṇḍya country after Srī Māra's reign is not very relevant to this study. The succession disputes of the Madurai royal house brought about the intercession of the Ceylonese at the close of the twelfth century. The Sinhalese general, Lankāpura Daṇḍanātha, after achieving successes at the battles of Tiruppali, Ponnāttukkōtta and Rajina [15] defeated Kulas'ēkhara and crowned his own protegè Vira-Pāṇḍya at Madurai as directed by his master Parākrama Bāhu, the King of Ceylon. Kulas'ēkhara, joined by the Toṇḍaimān not only captured Mangalam in Sāttūr taluk from the chief who had previously submitted to the Sinhalese but also subsquently took Srīvillipūttur.[16] The Sinhalese forces did not tarry long and when they left for their homeland across the sea, Srīvilliputtūr was regained for Madurai royalty.

In the further changes that took place in the political configuration of the peninsula, the Kallars led by the sons of one Abhirāmi, a famous courtesan of Kālaiyar kōvil played a prominent part sometime before the pseudo-Pāṇḍya epoch. The pretenders engaged Kallars from the Cōḷa country to fight against the government of the day but were vanquished (1500 A. D.) Ousted from Madurai they established themselves securely in the neighbourhood of Srīvilliputtūr where their descendants wielded influence for a considerable time ("If the Kallars were not their partisans, the circumstances would account for the presence of so many members of the caste in the district").[17] This was about the time of Krishna Dēva Rāya becoming

* Continued from Vol. XLIII. Page 116.

15. K. V. Subrahmania Iyer: *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, P. 159.

16. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, P. 8.

17. J. H. Nelson: *The Madura Country*, II, P. 48.

ruler of Vijayanagara. This ruler's interest in Srīvilliputtūr found expression in the *kāvya* he wrote on the life-story of Periyālwār and Āndāl and in the many valuable gifts he made to the temples. He constructed the big tank, endowing a lakh of '*mādas*' towards the cost of the *mantapam* in the centre and the stonework,[18] and the temple continued to receive endowments at the hands of his successors in Vijayanagara and many religious grants recorded to have been made on behalf of Sadās'iva Rāya (1542 *et seq*) were probably ordered by Rāma Rāya the son of Krishna Dēvā's able minister Sāluva Thimma.[19] One of the numerous grants of the time was the village of Puliānkulam (1550) of the grant set down as 178-L at Ramnad District in Prof. V. Rangacharya's Topographical List of the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency.

With the decay of Vijayanagara, the viceroys in the south began to assert their independence. The campaigns of Nāgama in the Madurai country brought the Pāṇḍya (Chandras'ēkhara Paṇḍya), says the *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājulu Charitra*,[20] an account of the Telugu Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjāvūr, one of the manuscripts in the famous Mackenzie Collection. He was afraid of his predecessors' descendants in Tenkāsi, Srīvilliputtūr and Rājapālayam and hence it was that Viswanātha was appointed viceroy. When Tirumala withheld tribute and asserted his independence the Nāyaka dynasty in Madurai became firmly stabilised.

The Madurai country was then divided into provinces each under a military commander who was the governor of the region. The provinces were known as *seemais*, of which there were at least seven [21] and Srīvilliputtūr was included in the province called *nadumaṇḍalam* or Middle Country. The *seemais* consisted of smaller units called *nādus* which were further divided into

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18. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar: *Sources of Vijayanagara History*. P.117.

19. H. Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijianagara*. Vol. I. Pp. 41-42.

20. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar: *Sources of Vijayanagara History*. P. 322.

21. These were: Satyamangalam in the northern frontier, Coimbatore, Dindigal, Tiruchirāppallior rather Manappārai, Madurai, Srīvilliputtūr or Nadumaṇḍalam, and Tirunelvēli. See Ch. III. Sect. VI. of V. Rangacharya's History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV, 1916, at P. 115 and sq.)

grāmams variously designated as *ūr*, *patti*, *kudi*, *kuricchi*, *mangalam* and so on.[22]

The period of the Nāyaka dynasty was a period of great architectural development. There is evidence to show that the temple of Kṛṣṇa in the south-east corner of Srīvilliputtūr was built by about 1574, the names of Visvanātha and Krishnappa being prominently connected with its erection. Though it lacks a tower, this temple has some good sculptures in the *ardhamantapam* to which Āndāl and Rengamannār are taken on the seventh day of the *Ādi Pooram* festival for *s'ayana utsava*. There is a tank in front of the temple with a *mantapam* adjacent and there is, besides another *oorani* or tank called Thiruppārkadal, not far off.

Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659) was the second son of Muthukrishnappa the eighth figure in the group of ten statues in the Pudumantapam in Madurai. His solicitude for his capital did not prevent him from interesting himself in the Vaiṣṇava pilgrim-centre of Srīvilliputtūr, interest in it having become general throughout the Vijayanagara Empire through Krishna Deva Rāya's classic *kāvya*. We should refer here to the Telugu works on the Ālwārs like *Paramayōgi vilāsamu* a poem written by Siddharāju Thimmarāju Bhupāla a nephew of Tirumala I.[23] Tirumala often visited Srīvilliputtūr for military and political considerations as it was situated midway between Madurai and Tirunelveli and on the route from the coastal region to the *pālayams* and chiefdoms of the west. The town was a highly strategic and important station.[24] The Nāyak's visits necessitating the construction of a palace, the beautification of the place followed. A small palace though not built on the scale of the more famous *mahāl* in Madurai exists in the South Car Street and is used for the public offices. Built in the Indo-Saracenic style its domes and massive pillars testify to the artistic excellence attained in that age. Adjoining the palace is a well-built structure called *Tirumalai Nāyakkan sajjai* (*sekshai*) which too is attributed to this time. Two others similar to it are to be seen on the road

22. Rangacharya. *Op. Cit.*
23. S. K. Iyengar: *Sources*. P. 211-212.
24. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLV (1916), P. 161-162.

to Madurai, one at the fourth and the other at the twelfth mile. All along that road were erected at intervals of a mile interesting *naubhat khanas* and tradition has it that the Nāyaka ruler, while at Madurai, used to take food only after receiving, through the drummers posted in between, the information that mid-day offerings had been duly made to the Srīvilliputtūr deity. A later day addition in the vicinity of the Āndāl temple is the large elephant-house (*hiran mahal*) in the street north of the temple and it certainly befits a town associated with the name of Krishna Dēva Rāya whose elephant troughs at Vijayanagara are very famous.

The Āndāl temple impresses the Nāyak's solicitude for the shrine. The Yāli facades, the fresco paintings and the numerous sculptures of the *ardhamantapam*, the corridor round the central shrine and above all the gilded pavilion to which the *utsava vigrahas* of S'rī Āndāl and her consort Rengamannār are taken every Friday, together with the exquisitely carved figures of Tirumala and his queen on the pavilion's pillars [25] go to show that the temple contained the favourite deity of the Nāyaka ruler.

The noble eleven-storeyed gopuram over the main entrance on the eastern wall of the Vatapatrasāyanar temple is a landmark "from almost every part of the taluk."[26] It is a splendid and majestic example of the architecture of grandeur about 200 feet high being, thus, the largest tower in the land and Kambar's lines recall its grandeur :

"இருக்கோதும் அந்தணர் சூழ்புது வாபுரி எங்கள் பிரான்
ருதக்கோதை வாழும் வடபெருங் கோவில் மணிவண்ணனார்
திருக்கோபுரத்திற்கு இணை அம்பொன் மேருச்சிகரமென்றே
பருக் கோதலாமன்றி வேறுபமானப் பணிப்பில்லையே."

It resembles in details the grand incomplete gopura gate of Madurai and unlike the Brihadēs'vara temple of Tanjavūr where the tower is above the central shrine the gopurams of the southern

25. See Figures 27 and 28, besides P. 50, in T. G. Aravamuthan's *Portrait Sculpture in South India.*

26. A. J. Stuart: *Manual of the Tinnevelly District*, 1879, P. 110.

districts rise over the gateways of the temple enclosures and not over any sanctum which has a separate *vimānam* over it. Readers of Edgar Thurston's book on Madras [27] may recall the fine picture of the Srīvilliputtūr pagoda. This gopuram should be classified as one of Pāṇḍya or Cōḷa design and it is possible that its maintenance received the due attention of the Nāyaka rulers. The palace in the South Car Street is among the monuments listed under the Preservation of Ancient Monuments Act VII of 1904.

There is also another graceful gopuram over the gateway of Sri Vaidyanāthasvāmi temple in the picturesque suburb known as Madavārvilāgam. In the broad stone-pillared and wooden-ceiled *mantapam* close to the main entrance there are two pillars on which are carved the beautiful statues of Tirumala Nāyaka and his brother-in-law, Vijiaranga Chokkappa, both attended by their ladies. "The grave solemn air of the king," wrote Prof. V. Rangacharya, "contrasts in a striking manner with his corpulent size and epicurean appearance and the artistic historian cannot but see a silent majesty in the whole scene......The skill displayed by the sculptor in carving the head-dress and the delicate ornaments and in depicting the general air of serious gravity and the expression of the feeling in the face, is remarkable and make these statues among the best in South India." With a lotus pond in front of the temple and another tank besides on the northern side, Madavārvilāgam presents a pleasant rendezvous for the citizens in the evenings."

There are also other temples in the town erected at various times in its history. That of Srinivasa Perumal stands in what is known as the Nātakasālai Street and has a *mantapam* in front of it, to which Āndāl and Rengamannār are taken in procession in the

27. *The Madras Presidency* (*with Mysore, Coorg and the Associated States*) (1913) by Edgar Thurston, C. I. E. Sometime Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, in *Provincial Geographies of India* Series. Fig. 58. "*Srīvilliputtūr pagoda*" at P. 160 of the book is an excellent picture of the great gopuram of the Sri Vatapatrasayanar temple as viewed from the portico of the Sri Āndāl temple. The *nandavanam* seen in the picture is the one where Āndāl was found by Periyālwār. Apart from this picture, there is no reference to the town in this book of Thurston.

month of *Vaikās'i*. There is a shrine for Hanumān on the northern bank of the Tirumukkulam tank besides several *Māriamman Kōvils* and two temples for Draupadi, the latter being a link with the Pāṇḍava tradition so far away from Indraprasta and Hastinâpūra Festivals are conducted in these temples on a grand scale and the fire-walking ceremonies in the Mâriamman and Draupadi temples particularly testifying to the intense devotion of the devotees.

Ere we pass on to the next stage of our study we may refer to the principal tank in Srivilliputtūr,—the Tirumukkulam. in the north-western part of the town. The tank is deep and large and about ten acres in extent, with fine stone-steps all round and there are some *mantapams* on its banks, besides one at its centre. A picturesque floating festival lasting for three days is held every year in the month of *Māsi* and on the western bank stands a first class dak bungalow. The composition of this rest-house is free of wood work and the size of its pillars and the arches suggest that their erection goes to the days of Tirumala Nāyaka's palaces. Though old, the tank is in excellent condition and its water is used by the local population for drinking all these centuries. Krishna Devā Rāya and Tirumala Nâyaka had renovated it in their time but the townsmen now look forward to the completion of the protected water supply scheme in progress as more beneficial particularly in view of the often prevalent drought.

The Tamil poetical translation of the Mahābhārata which is believed to have been written by Sarva Bhauma Iyengar (*lit*: "Known throughout the world") and popularly is known as *Villiputtūrār Bhāratham* has also been assigned to the period of the Nāyaka period. This is a popular work and is among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Tamil Literature.

JOHN COMPANY'S DAYS—BATTLE OF SRIVILLIPUTTUR 1756 A.D.—CAMPAIGNS OF MAHOMED YUSSOUF

Passing on from the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the later Nâyakas we come to the central period of the eighteenth century by which time the British had successfully exploited the

Carnātic affairs extending their influence in the peninsula. Māhfuz Khān, the elder brother of the Nawāb commanded the native troops of the East India Company in the Madurai country. Although the Company's forces did not achieve any spectacular successes and were on the other hand, subjected to harassment from the local resistance movements, the authorities of the company were indulgent to the Khān, probably in view of his connection with Carnātic royalty. The poligars were consequently emboldened to form themselves into a formidable conspiracy and the Company reacted as advised by its ally the Mudali of Tirunelveli, by sending a force under Mahomed Yussouf to set matters right and establish the prestige and power of the English.

Under the direction of Pūli Tēvan the leading Poligar, his associates, Nabi Khān Kuttak, Barkatullah and Moodemiah concentrated at Srīvilliputtūr (Feb. 1756). The troops stationed there were generalled by Abdul Rahim (a half-brother of the Nawāb and Māhfuz Khān) and Abdul Mally [28] who had at their command a force which, though recruited from the rabble usually allotted to guard the villages, was strong in its corps of 500 horsemen. Relying on the prowess and sterling quality of his men Māhfuz Khān considered the enemy poligars to be effeminate creatures worthy only of contempt and so risked a battle. But his troops were surrounded and managing to cut their way through with considerable loss they retired to Srīvilliputtūr. Abdul Mally and Abdul Rahim intended to maintain themselves in the fort awaiting succour but the men of their cavalry grew discontented due to arrears of pay and fear of losing their horses for want of provisions during the siege, went over to the side of the enemy. The remnant was defeated and the fort invested but the two commanders escaped.

The united strength of the victorious poligars stood at 25,000 men including a thousand cavalry-men. Encouraged by their

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28. Robert Orme: *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan from the year 1745*, 4th edition (1803), Vol. I. Bk. v. P. 422. Orme refers to Srivilliputtūr as Chevelpetore.

success, they contemplated a march on Madurai but this did not materialise because of a defeat suffered by Pūli Tēvan about seven miles from Tirunelveli (March 21, 1756) due to the effective aid rendered to Māhuz Khān by the eastern Poligars, notably by the Ettaiyapuram Poligar. This set-back broke the backbone of the confederate resistance and saved Madurai.

Mahomed Yussouf who took the field at this juncture marched from Pudukkōttai country to Madurai which was reached on May 6, 1756. Refitting his carriage and stores and with a detachment of European artillery he proceeded to Srīvilliputtūr, "which, notwithstanding their late defeat, remained in the hands of the enemy."[29] But the defenders of the fort abandoned it on his appearance.

Leaving a garrison sufficient to hold it, Mahomad Yussouf marched across the *nadumaṇḍalam* country to Kayattār where Māhfuz Khān was waiting for him with his victorious but inactive army. Unable to collect sinews of war owing to the devastations of the recent campaigns, the two generals moved to Ettaiyapuram and Kōvilpatti. Later they stormed the fort at Kollārpatti and marched to Srīvilliputtūr where they received the submission of the redoubtable Pūli Tēvan. Pūli Tevan and his associates terrified by the fate of Kollārpatti were not willing to hold out any longer (June 1756). The next move of Mahomed Yussouf was against the Poligar of Kollankondān who had been recalcitrant and the Poligar's fort too fell after offering some resistance. Mahomed Yussouf and Māhfuz Khān decided to continue mopping operations in the area and they had their headquarters at Srīvilliputtūr during these months of sanguinary warfare.

By the end of 1756 A. D. Mahomed Yussouf desired Māhfuz Khān to march to Arcot and allotting six companies to garrison Srīvilliputtūr he himself proceeded to the Tirunelveli wherefrom he was able to clear out the Poligars with the help of the Mudali.

The Poligars retired to the woods and although Barkatullah and his cavalry betook to Madurai, Nabi Khān Kuttak went to

29. R. Orme, *Op. Cit.* P. 424.

Srīvilliputtūr and not having the means to attack the fort in which the sepoys left by Mahomed Yussouf remained, attempted to escalade the pagoda. Whereupon, it is learnt, a Brahmin went to the top of the high tower over the gateway and "after a short but loud prayer of execration", threw himself headlong to the pavement as a result of which his brains were blown out. "The enemy, although Mohammadans", writes the East India Company's historian, Robert Orme, "were so much afraid of incurring the general detestation of the country, if their attempts at the pagoda should incite any more acts of such enthusiastic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town."[30] The great gopuram thus owes its escape from destruction, to an unnamed citizen whose self-immolation worthily entitles him to the homage of posterity recalling to our minds the words of brave old Horatius:

> "To every man upon this earth
> Death cometh soon or late.
> And how can man die better
> Than facing fearful odds,
> For the ashes of his fathers,
> And the temples of his Gods," [31]

Another commandant, Lieutenant Rumbold, now appeared on the scene but did not tarry long as he soon retired to Madurai. Nabi Khān Kuttak and Barkatullah proceeded now to organise another confederacy and with a view to thwarting their efforts to secure adherents to their cause, Mahomed Yussouf hastened to Srīvilliputtūr from Tirunelveli and endeavoured to awe the Poligars who were about to join the league. The Mudali of Tirunelveli sent an agent to the Srīvilliputtūr camp but the army went over to the side of the Poligars. Some of the men who accompanied the agent were found in the act of stealing the horses and oxen belonging to the Srīvilliputtūr camp and Mohamed Yussouf had

30. R. Orme: Vol. II. Bk. vi, P. 113. Also, S. C. Hill: *Yussouf Khan the Rebel Commandant*; 1914, P. 59 and *n.* citing W. Francis (Madura, P. 281) who records on the authority of an inscription in the Subramanya temple, four miles from Madurai, a similar occurrence in 1792 when the English attacked the temple.

31. Lord Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Horatius, XXVII.

them blown off at the cannon's mouth and the agent and the rest of his entourage fled. The morale of Poligar resistance had been evidently sustained by the successes of the French who had even occupied Madras (1746-49) but the agility of Mahomed Yussouf tended to improve the sagging fortunes of the British East India Company's forces, Pazhamkottai and Ettaiyapuram having fallen and Madurai too secured fully by Calliaud.

Mahomed Yussouf was Governor of the southern regions during 1759-1763 A. D. but later intrigued with Haidar Ali, the Mysore ruler and negotiated with the French, taking also some Frenchmen into his service. The latter were of doubtful loyalty and Mahomed Yussouf was ignominiously surrendered to Major Charles Campbell, an English Commandant who probably hanged him (1764 A. D.). Mahomed Yussouf's gallant career and heroic bearing form the subject of an entertaining memoir by S. C. Hill who quotes Sir John Malcolm's testimony in the *Quarterly Review* for May 1818, that Yussouf was the bravest and ablest of all the native soldiers that ever served the English in India.

The Poligar War.—The Assignment and the Assumption 1781-1792 A.D.—Christian Missionary Enterprise.—Later Times

To resume the thread of the narrative Major Flint who was deputed in 1766 A. D. to suppress what remained of the Poligar resistance marched to Srīvilliputtūr and then proceeded to attack Kollankondān which had not fully been subdued yet, the Poligar of the place having shown signs of further disaffection and contumacy. A party of scouts that was sent by Major Flint to fetch grains from Srīvilliputtūr was intercepted by the Poligar's men and a strong reinforcement was also waylaid and the insurgents could be brought to book only after some hard fighting. Captain Painter and several other Britons lost their lives in the warfare that followed and the conditions continued to be unsettled for many years.

The year 1781 A. D. saw the "Assignment of the Revenue" and G. Proctor was appointed the first "Collector and Receiver of

Assigned Revenue " [32] namely the revenue that the Nawāb of the Carnātic assigned to the East India Company. Proctor was not a successful official and it was only as a result of further campaigning by Colonel William Fullarton that the hegemony over the region got stabilised for the Company. Fullarton took Sivagiri and Panjālamkuricchi and the results of the campaign that followed were satisfactory to the new *rāj*. But owing to further changes in the relations between the Company and the native government the Assignments were surrendered in 1785 A. D. and the country reverted to the Nawāb's rule for a spell of five more years.

Thus followed a period of 'Assumption' during the years 1790-92 A. D. when Benjamin Torin was the Collector and a treaty was concluded on July 12, 1792 by which Tiruchirāpalli, Tirunelveli and Madurai were made over to the Hon'ble East India Company, Torin becoming the " Collector of the Zamindar and Poligar *peishcush* in the Tinnevelley, Madura, Trichinopoly, Ramanādhapuram and Sheivagunga districts." The final transfer came in 1801 A. D. when, after the capture of Kālaiyār kōvil on the 1st October a proclamation issued by P. A. Agnew, Lieutenant Colonel, announced the formal establishment of the British Administration which continued till the day of the latter's relinquishing control over India in 1947. S. R. Lushington, Collector of the Poligar *peishcush* was appointed the first Collector of Tirunelvely district[33] and Srīvilliputtūr which came to be included in that district was made the headquarters of a taluk known as Srīvilliputtūr taluk.

The growth of Christian missionary enterprise in this region calls for some notice. The enquiries I have had with the Rev. Father Audrian S. J. at Srīvilliputtūr showed that Romanist activity dates from a beginning in 1746 at Kamma Nāiken Patti with which Pere Joseph Khrening was associated for some years. A detachment was effected in 1876 when the Jesuits established a station at Pudupatti which included Srīvilliputtūr within the ambit of its evangelical mission till 1906 when the present Roman Catholic

32. R. Caldwell : *History of Tinnevelley*, P. 141.

33. S. R. Lushington rose to be the Governor of the Madras Presidency (1827-1832).

Mission compound was occupied. The St. Anthony's Church with its congregation of about a thousand Catholics has lofty spires and there is a school within the precincts of the Mission.

The growth of the St. Francis Xavier's Orphanage attached to the Belgian convent on the Martinpuram Avenue in the western end of the town has been a striking development. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus besides looking to the spiritual welfare of the large community attached to the orphanage has been conducting a dispensary while a girls' school which they started in their premises has now developed into the Sacred Heart Girls' High School (1948) and the training section for school mistresses already functioning for over two decades is a special feature.

The Protestant community in Srīvilliputtūr also has had a long history spread over a century of activity. Judging from what their Pastor told me, they had their place of worship originally opposite the present Sub-Magistrate's Court and the St. Thomas Church of today was erected in 1898, the belfray being added only in 1906. The C. M. S. High School behind the dak bungalow in the area known as Houghtonpuram named after the first Headmaster, Mr. Houghton has developed from an Anglo-Vernacular School started in 1856. This institution attained High School status in 1878. This and another school opened by the Tirunelveli Diocesan Christian Association in May 1933 serve the community's educational needs.

Another important educational institution of the town is the Hindu High School which has celebrated its Diamond Jubilee and is now known as Gurugñāna Sambandar Hindu High School. There are several elementary schools maintained by the Municipality and a *pātasāla* conducted by the Srī Nācchiyār devasthanam is an institution imparting instruction in Hindu theology and it also accommodates the Sri Gōdhamanovilasini *Pusthhakālaya*, a library of select oriental literature.

The principal library of the town is accommodated in a nice building and is known after J. B. Pennington, who was Collector of Tirunelveli, during 1877-1880. With its good complement of

journals it caters to the cultural needs of the local intelligentsia. The Municipal Council has been maintaining for several years past a Tamil library for the benefit of the public and contains a good collection covering many departments of knowledge. The many Co-operative institutions in the town also stock copious literature on the subject of Co-operation. The town has several government offices, *viz.* Sub-Magistrate and District Munsiff's Courts, a Government Hospital taken over from the Municipality in 1928 and the Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Women's Welfare, Broadcasting, Public Works and Registration departments besides the Tahsildar's office. Two of the Post Offices appear to be very old as they are referred to in A. J. Stuart's *Manual of the Tinnevelly District*, published in 1879.

The Srīvilliputtūr taluk and the adjoining Sāttūr taluk were included in the Rāmanāthapuram district which was constituted in 1910. Srīvilliputtūr was at first a Panchayat Board but the town attained Municipal status as far back as 1894 being the first to have this distinction among the towns of the present Rāmanāthapuram district. It had a population of 34,642 in 1941 and its most important present-day development is the execution of the water supply scheme, the first investigation of which was carried out in 1917 when experiments on the bed of the Pēyanār stream showed the feasibility of providing an adequate supply of drinking water to the population of the town.

The place invites a stream of visitors all through the year being on the main line to Trivandrum after the opening of the Virdunagar-Tenkasi chord line in 1927, and its lofty temples, churches and mosque could be espied even from a distance " bosom'd high in tufted trees" with the Western Ghat behind. Apart from the Municipal dak bungalow, west of the Tirumukkulam tank, there are several other resting places. There is a *Gōthamatham* besides an *Uttarādi Mutt* for up-country visitors and the *Rāmānuja kootam* built in the South Car Street by the Pappi Chetty Raghaviah Chetty Charities of Madras and a similar one in Andāl Sannidhi Street by Narayana Guruviah Charities of

Madras are large and comfortable resting places. There are two old choultries if Madavārvilgam.[34]

Social life in the station centres round the Town Literary Club adjoining the Madavārvilagam temple and the Cosmopolitan Club near the Municipal Office. There are several open spaces in the town which may be converted into well laid-out parks as the park now maintained by the Municipality, though well-kept, is not adequate for a growing population which has doubled during to past two generations.[35]

(*To be concluded*)

34. A. J. Stuart : *Manual of the District of Tinnevelly*, P. 278.

35. The growth in the population has been as indicated below :

1881 : 18256	(*Hindus* : 17422 ;	*Moslems* ; 353 ;	*Christians* : 481)
1901 : 26382	(,, 24943 ;	,, ; 506 ;	,, ; 933)
1931 : 32385	(,, 30530 ;	,, ; 523 ;	,, ; 1332)
1941 : 34621	(,, 32288 ;	,, ; 650 ;	,, ; 1691)
1951 : 40487			

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REVIEWS

The Banas in South Indian History. By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Reader in Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, Madras-5.

THIS monograph is a reprint from the Journal of Indian History containing the subject of two lectures delivered by Dr. Mahalingam in 1950-51 under the Sankara-Parvathi Endowment in the University of Madras. Bāṇas, a dynasty of rulers who played an important part in the history of South India round about the Kolar and Kurnool districts from the fourth century A. D. to the sixth century A. D. were originally the feudatories of the S'ātavāhanas. They changed their allegiance frequently probably to suit the several dynasties that ruled then and at the time of Coḷa Parāntaka I, they partially went out as a political power. The Bāṇas though they played a prominent part in the history of South India for nearly two centuries never rose to the position of an imperial power. They traced their descent from the mighty Bali or Mahābali of mythological and the legendary history of India. They were a small tribe of people living in the regions of *Pudōliviṣaya* or *Mahāviṣaya*, *Marūkaraviṣaya* and the *Kaivāraviṣaya*. This monograph gives in detail the rule of the several Bāṇa chiefs under the supremacy or overlordship of the imperial dynasties whom they served, *viz.* the S'ātavāhanas, the Pallavas of Kāñcī, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Western Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, etc. The inscriptions of the Bāṇas throw fresh light on the mode of warfare and the way in which heroes who died in war were honoured. The book is a useful addition to the history of South India.

S. S.

History of the Ahobilam Mutt (1398 A. D. to 1946 A. D.) An Outline by S. N. Venkatesa Iyer, Advocate, Coimbatore. Price Re. 0-10-0.

THIS short brochure gives in general outline the history of the Ahobilam Mutt from the foundation of the mutt in 1398 A.D. to 1946. Like the great *advaitic* teacher S'rī S'aṁkaracārya, S'rī Rāmānujācārya also established several *mutts* for the propagation of the Vaiṣṇava faith of which the one at Ahobilam is discussed in this brochure. Ahobilam is one of the three sacred places in the long range of disjointed hills that go to make up the long stretch of the Eastern Ghats from the river Kṛṣṇa down south to the Tirupati-Tirumalai Hills known as the Nalla Malais. Ahobilam, a Vaiṣṇavite shrine of great antiquity, is situated in the middle of this long range nearly two hundred and fifty miles long and the sacred S'aivite temple of Mallikārjuna is at the beginning of this range which commences from the river Kṛṣṇa. There is a temple at the foot of the hill at Ahobilam and a small shrine at the top four miles higher up. The temple at the foot of the hill contains beautiful scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa inscribed on its walls. Ahobilam has been the theme of many Ālvārs and it has been sung as equal in sanctity to the three holy places Banaras, Gaya and Prayag. A description of the *bhakti* movement is given from the days of S'rī Rāmānujācārya to the present day and it ought to be of interest to all students of religion.

S. S.

Archæology and Indian Universities. By H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B. Ph.D. (London). Published by the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona-6.

THE Presidential Address delivered at the Archæological Section at the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Lucknow is contained in this illuminating and interesting pamphlet by Dr. Sankalia, the reputed scholar of pre-historic archæology in Gujarat. Archæology and pre-historic archæology includes in its ambit subjects, large and small, from the dim stone ages to the present day. An army of trained workers

studying different branches of the subject undertaking field-work in different parts of India is essential for the vast Indian sub-continent. Theoretical training in various aspects of archæology coupled with field-archæology and methods of scientific preservation, cleaning, modelling, etc. are amongst the other demands. Dr. Sankalia gives a rapid survey of the problems facing the archæologist; the pre-history, proto-history and ancient history of India, desires for a definite and organised plan for conducting archæological explorations and excavations and suggests the Universities in addition to the departments of archæology wherever they exist should act as agencies. Unless an early development of archæological activities both in the Universities and elsewhere is forthcoming with the active co-operation of wealthy patrons of learning much cannot be expected of the present departments of archæology as remarked by Dr. Sankalia. India is rich in historical traditions and this can be exploited only through systematic archæological work.

H. R.

New Light on The Buddha's First Sermon. By Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Published by the Academy of Spiritual Culture, Elephanta, 19, Raipur Road, Dehra Dun (India) Price Rs. 2-8-0.

DHAMMA Cakka Pavattana Sutta is the first sermon Lord Buddha taught his disciples. In this short work Dr. Mohan Singh discusses under eight sections in detail the first sermon of the Buddha with close comparison of the same to the sayings of S'rī Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gīta. The author draws repeated comparisons from several ancient teachings to confirm his view that the cardinal teachings of the *Abhisambuddha* is identical with the ancient Āryan teachings. The author raises several questions in the course of his discussions and answers them with quotations mostly from the Bhagavad Gīta. The pamphlet is useful for a comparative study of the Buddha's teachings with that of the teachings of S'rī Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gīta.

H. R.

Pahlavi Vendidād (Zand=Î Jivîț=Dêv=Dâț). Transliteration and Translation in English. By Behramgore T. Anklesaria, M.A. Edited by Dinshah D. Kapadia, M.A., B.SC., I.E.S. (Retd). Published by the K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute, 136, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 15-0-0.

THIS monumental translation and transliteration of the Pahlavi Vendidād was incomplete with the passing away of the translator, B. T. Anklesaria, and at the instance of the Cama Oriental Institute, Professor Dinshah Dorabji Kapadia an intimate friend of the late Anklesaria came forward in all humility befitting a scholar to see the work through the press. Professor Kapadia gives a list of the various works on Pahlavi Vendidād both in manuscript and in print in his preface.

The translator has successfully attempted to give a correct and faithful translation of the work. The translator has adhered to his usual practice of giving only the Pâzend version of the Pahlavi Vendidād. The work narrates a number of expiatory ceremonies for the lapses, as the Parsis have a number of rituals. The *mantras* are also mentioned therein and it is always essential that its performance should be under the direction of a *Dastur*. The transliteration has been published on modern lines. It is hoped the Cama Oriental Institute will add short notes on difficult terms in the next edition of the work.

M. B. N.

The Heroines of the Plays of Kalidasa. By Samskrita Visarada S. Ramachandra Rao, M.A. Transaction No. 7.

The Concept of the United Nations. A Philosophical Analysis. By E. M. Hough, M.A., Ph.D. Transaction No. 9.

Yantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India. By V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Transaction No. 10.

The Social Play in Sanskrit. By V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Transaction No. 11.

The Life and Thought of Avicenna. Abū Alī Al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (980-1037 A. D.) By H. J. J. Winter, M.Sc., Ph.D., A.Inst.P. M.R.A.S. Transaction No. 12.

Unesco and Word Unity and Peace. By E. M. Hough, M.A., Ph.D. Transaction No. 13.

Leonardo Da Vinci. A Quincentenary Tribute. By O.C. Gangoly. Transaction No. 14.

The Physician; Priest, Craftsman, or Philosopher. By Ilza Veith. Transaction No. 15.

Ayurvedic School of Medicine—Theory and Practice. By A. Lakshmipathi, B.A., M.B. and C.M. Transaction No. 16.

The History of Fireworks in India—Between A.D. 1400 and 1900. By P. K. Gode, M.A. Transaction No. 17.

Published by the Indian Institute of Culture, North Public Square, Basavanagudi, Bangalore-4. Price Re. 1-0-0, each.

WE have received from the Indian Institute of Culture many pamphlets printed from lectures delivered under its auspices from time to time. The Heroines of the Plays of Kāḷidāsa is the title of two lectures by S. Ramachandra Rao wherein he discusses about the heroines of *Malavikāgñimitra*, *Vikramorvasiya* and *Abhigñāna S'ākuntala* and brings out in detail the portrayal of a *bhārya* in *Malavikāgñimitra*, a *pativrata* in *Vikramorvasiya* and of a *grihiṇi* in *Abhigñāna S'ākuntala.*

Dr. Hough's lectures on "The Concept of the United Nations—A Philosophical Analysis" and "Unesco and World Unity and Peace" form the subject matter of transactions 9 and 13. The need for world peace, for mutual sympathy and co-operation are not sufficiently and properly spread amongst the nations of the world. Organized efforts for unity and peace is a powerful and strong ally in the philosophic concepts underlying the hope of a

united world. Dr. Hough has put forward some of the basic postulates of ancient Indian thought which are implicit though not specifically proclaimed in the educational background of the United Nations and gives a history of the achievements of Unesco and hopes it will foster unity and lasting peace among the different nations.

Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University who is now on a continental tour for a study of Sanskrit manuscripts abroad recollects the high standard of devèlopment in every branch of knowledge which ancient India had attained. The dreams of the ages and the crude experiments of old have been the forerunners of subsequent advances. He has presented the whole picture together with the proper *milieu* of the *yantra* or mechanical contrivances of ancient India which derives much of its interest from the social background. The vogue these mechanical contrivances had for a long period was sufficent to foster the development and spread of mechanical technology on a national scale: but it was just like the civilization of this country not to have taken to it on such a scale, for the religious and spiritual preoccupations was such that machines, which in other countries ushered in a civilization that increasingly became materialistic in outlook were harnessed in this country to reinforce the idea of God and the spirit.

Sanskrit literature enshrines the treasures of the mind and spirit which challenges comparison with that of any other literature of any country, ancient or modern. Dramatic literature forms the best part of it. Sanskrit dramatists had a true comprehension of the joy and the tragedy and the triumph of character among the common folk and their dramas take high rank among the productions of this branch of literature.

The impact of Avicenna's thought upon the mediæval world was so great that he established a system in which other people found ready answers to most of their vexing problems. Dr. Winter gives a vivid description of the life and thought of Avicenna in transaction number twelve.

The fifth centenary anniversary of Leonardo Da Vinci whose lustre as an artist, scientist and thinker has not diminished with the passage of time was celebrated at the Institute of Culture by reading a paper specially written for the occasion by Prof. O. C. Gangoly.

Transaction number fifteen puts forth the ideas of Dr. Veith who discusses in detail the roles which the physician or healer appears to perform, *viz.* that of the priest, the craftsman and the philosopher. Civilizations have sprung and died but these characteristics of the medical man predominate either paralleling each other or succeeding each other.

Āyurveda is deeply rooted in the soil of India and has contributed largely to her cultural heritage. Āyurveda is attested by centuries of experience and it is as much a perfect science as any other branch of medicine. Dr. Lakshmipathy has given in this fourteenth transaction the theory and practice of Āyurveda or indigenous system of medicine.

Prof. Gode is not new to our readers and to the world of Indologists. Prof. Gode exhibits the knowledge gained by our ancients in the branch of applied science of pyrotechny earlier than the fifteenth century as evidenced by the ingenuity and skill developed in the display of fireworks on festive occasions. Prof. Gode concludes his illuminating account with a request to scholars to supply him information about the personalities who brought the knowledge of fireworks to India, the exact chronology of the transmission of fireworks to India and the available evidence in Chinese, Persian or Arabic sources about its introduction to India.

S. S.

Ecce Homo. The Metaphysical and Philosophical Reflections of a General Medical Practitioner with special Reference to J. Krishnamurti. The World Teacher. By Jag Mohan Lawl, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.)

DR. LAWL says he was an agnostic and the New Thought and Theosophical Writings influenced his mind to discover the secrets of yoga and the esoteric side of the religions of the world. He

admired works of H. P. Blavatsky, especially "The Secret Doctrine," Dr. Annie Besant's various writings, and Bishop C. W. Leadbeater's "Description of the Invisible Planes of Matter." But when he came across "At the Feet of the Master" he felt the simplicity and the directness of expression so singularly marked from the rest. We agree. He considers J. Krishnamurti as the World Teacher. Theosophy is not a superstition. It is a reasoned philosophy. According to him it means oneness with God. He refers to Krishnamurti's contribution towards world peace and in the next part gives his views on faiths, civilizations and the systems of our day. Later he gives discussions with a seeker after truth. The world peace problem is fundamentally a spiritual problem, not a political nor ethical nor even an educational one. The world religions have existed for thousands of years but the world unity is beyond their reach. Saints and sages have been produced by thousands but still wars are going on. The original and the purest and most comprehensive understanding of life is only through God as the foundation stone for International Peace. The book is well printed and is helpful to students of Theosophy.

S. S.

A Mahodaya Art Souvenir of "Theertha" and "Varna." From the Immortal Bhoja's Royal House of the 11th century. 9th February 1948 (Mahodaya day). By M. K. Ranganathan.

THIS work contains the ideals and suggestions of His Holiness the Jagatguru Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Svamigal of the Kanchi Kamakoti peetam, on the sands of the river Pinakini or South Pennar in the South Arcot District. Mahodaya is an event of rare occurrence. As usual with the Hindus, they go for a bath on such occasions to a river or a confluence of rivers, a *saras* or ocean or some "*Theertha*" containing holy water, and while bathing therein they refer to and think (*smarana*) of the sacred *theerthas* of the country. On the first Mahodaya day after the Independence of India, *i.e.* on 9-2-1948 the author of this pamphlet felt inclined to think of the Bhojapur Lake ofthe eleventh century,

the one for which King Bhoja was responsible and therefore he draws attention to this old "*Theertha.*" The souvenir contains five chapters dealing with Bhoja Rājyam, the Temple of Sarasvati, the Bhojpur Lake (*saras*), Social and Religious Life and a message on the Mahodaya Day. The Rāja was accessible to the poorest of his subjects. He used to wander far and near, both by day and by night, for the purpose of acquainting himself with the condition of his subjects, their wants and their disabilities. The Bhojpur lake, the most wonderful of Bhoja's constructions, is a feat of ancient engineers which was lost for posterity till its bed was located with great pains by Col. Kincaid. It stands today as a testimony of the extent of the engineering skill and workmanship achieved by the people of the Malwa country under the benificent rule of king Bhoja. Hindu life under Vedic ideals struck a balance between the claims of *kāma*, *artha* and *mokṣa* and India has been more successful than the rest of the world and more particularly the West in striking the balance between *pravrithi* and *nivrithi*. The souvenir is beautifully illustrated.

S. S.

SANSKRIT

Sahityavimarsa (An original treatise on Literary Criticism) By Appalla Somesvara Sarma, Vidya Pravina, P. O. L. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute Studies No. 4. Published by Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Instiute, Tirupati. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THIS work on literary criticism in Sanskrit on poetics is an epitomisation of the views of Bhāmahā, Dandin and other Sanskrit scholars. At the end of each section the author has given his own views and opinion, duly supported. He says:

(1) तत्र ध्वनिवाद एव सर्वोत्कृष्टः

(2) बृहुसम्मतत्वात् शब्दार्थयुगलस्यैव काव्यत्वमंगीकार्यमिति निर्विवादः

The author gives in a nutshell the views of the various authors on *sāhitya* summarising them. S'rī Venkatesvara Oriental Institute and the author deserve the congratulations of scholars in bringing out this useful publications.

M. B. N.

Nipatavyayopasargavritti of Tilaka. Edited by Appalla Somesvara Sarma, Vidya Pravina, P.O.L. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series No. 28. Published by Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THE original of this work on Grammar was available in the library, Arshagranthalaya, kept by Sri Paravastu Venkataranga Svami, grandfather of P. V. Ramanuja Svami the present Director of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute and it was copied by Paravastu Venkata Ranganātha Svami. It contains three chapters. The first and the second chapters on *nipātasas* and the *avayās* are written in the *sūtra* form while the third and the last on *upasargas* in the form of *slokas*. Pāṇini states all the three as indeclinables: स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् (Pāṇini I. 1. 30.) While this *sūtra* does not contain the *upasarga* Vararuci has added the *vārtika*: उपसर्ग विभक्ति स्वर प्रतिरूपका:

The author of this work Tilaka is believed to have lived long after the eleventh century as mention is made of Kṣīrasvāmin, the well-known commentator of Amarā's *Nāmaliṅgānuṣāsna*, who lived in the eleventh century. The book is a valuable addition in the filed of grammatical literature.

M. B. N.

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